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VALUES AND RELATIONSHIPS IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND PROGRAMMING

By Louis-Joseph LEBRET,
Director General of Economy and Humanism

Papers have been contributed to the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas as working papers for that Conference. They are published as presented by the contributors, and the contents and the views expressed are those of the contributors. (See notes overleaf.)

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VALUES AND RELATIONSHIPS IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND PROGRAMMING

By
LOUIS-JOSEPH LEBRET, DIRECTOR GENERAL
OF ECONOMY AND HUMANISM

The science of development is so recent that we must not be surprised to find that it is still only exploratory. At the same time the desire for development has become so universal that it is necessary to lay down planning and programming methods which can be applied generally, not only so that they can be used by any country undergoing development but also so that comparisons and regional coordination of various plans is possible.

1. Evolution of the concept of the development plan

All experts now agree that development is a complex operation which must take into account numerous favourable and unfavourable factors, some physical and geographical, some economic; others biological, psychological, sociological and political.

Also every real development plan will henceforth consist of a series of sector plans, a series of area plans and a series of general plans. We are a long way from the simple idea of investment plans based on data covering a whole area and the spectacular working of a few localised resources.

Gradually development has come to mean exploiting many potentialities, which have to be studied one by one on the spot: potentialities presented by the soil-relief-climate complex, potentialities of the sub-soil and energy potentialities.

In addition account must be taken of available manpower, the extent to which it is capable of being adapted to other work, the mobility of the labour force, its qualification possibilities, its propensity for work and spending and saving.

The most promising theoretical plan comes up against the human element, the local population, the lack of technicians in all grades, attachment to established routine and resistance from influential persons. It is also hampered by disputes between different sections of the population, by administrative inconsistency and by instability or indecision on the part of the governing authorities.

It therefore comes about that, step by step, the plan becomes considerably wider in scope. It is no longer a question of physical and social infrastructures and agricultural, industrial and commercial structures, but of all structures considered in all their various aspects. The plan no longer appears as an act performed periodically but as a continuous deployment of data and forces in the hands of a single enlightened power capable of obtaining the co-operation of the inhabitants.

At this point the human factors appear to be as important, if not more so, than the economic factors. Unfortunately they fail to fit in with the simplification of the economic pattern, and will for a long time fail to do so, necessary though this pattern may be, because its significance is weakened by the intervening human element.

Thus the experts gradually endow the development plan with its full dimensions. After elementary plans laying down dates and proposing rather unrealistic figures of total production, it is necessary to look at the basic elements of the problem. The development of villages or rural rehabilitation then appears paramount. As a result of several failures we now understand that intermediate groupings should be organised between the summit and the base, and that it is necessary to use additional qualified teams of experts. Development can thus become an articulated movement from summit to base and from base to summit, ensuring that expansion is propagated downwards and rectified upwards.

It is interesting to note, from this point of view, the gradual convergence of methods used by development missions. An inventory setting out both requirements and resources seems today an indispensable preliminary to the establishment of a workable plan; so does the distinction between a long-term general plan, a medium-term executive or guiding plan, and an annual programme; so also does the preparation of plans covering sectors and regions, which should be as detailed as possible; and so finally does the need to set up a government, an administration and a system to stimulate development.

2. <u>The introduction of human factors is still inadequate</u>.

The science of development makes progress every year. Every development mission, when well constituted, is a real laboratory for the integration of science and techniques. The permanent planning bodies will also become laboratories of this kind, at least in countries where they are sufficiently well equipped. Since the various experts work together, each of them dealing with his own particular aspect, but the experts as a whole covering the entire field of development, the development mission and the permanent body employing it or which succeeds it can draw up soundly-based outline projects and period programmes which take both economic and non-economic factors into account.

However, although great progress has already been made, it would be a mistake to consider the science of development as fully established. From a general economic point of view the developers lack the statistical data which would enable them to undertake an exact study of structures and their evolution, and from a human and sociological point of view their approach remains rudimentary.

This does not mean that the human aspect is completely ignored, but man is primarily regarded as an element in production. He is first considered as a "useful" factor in carrying out the plan: there are too many or too few workers;

the skill and qualifications of the labour force are inadequate; the educational system should be extended, completed, rectified or improved; productivity demands an increase in the number of health centres and hospitals and the consequent training of medical personnel.

As a result of education and improved health however, man assumes his own importance as the ultimate object, but there is still over-emphasis either on the use of men for production or on education and health as ends in themselves.

This is doubtless because the actual idea of development has not been sufficiently elaborated. Since in the infancy of political economy it seemed that the creation of wealth was the essential objective, this wealth being for the benefit of all but no direct action for its distribution being necessary, at the recent beginning of the development age some people thought that economic development would entail progress in all directions. Thus confusion arose between "economic development" and "development". A considerable effort has been made to lay down the lines on which economic development should be based and the detailed measures by which it can be achieved, but there has been no corresponding effort to define the importance of development to civilisation.

Humanity desires development, not merely economic development. According to a saying dear to François Perroux, it is all of man and all men who are concerned.

Development as an operation thus becomes, for a particular population and for all its various components, a series of steps from a less humane to a more humane phase to be taken as rapidly as possible and at minimum cost, taking into account solidarities between groups and between populations.(1)

This definition applies to all levels of community life from the local to the international. It lays down, as objectives of development, individual human success and the raising of human standards of individual peoples and of all peoples.

It includes all aspects of development - economic, biological, educational, cultural, political and administrative - but man is always in the centre of the picture.

In giving the human element its proper place, the complex science of development becomes scientific in character to a maximum degree, all science being defined by its object. The aim of development can only be the advance of humanity towards better human conditions within small groups and as a whole. In other words, development is a problem of civilisation which science and technology must help to solve, giving maximum consideration to all human values.

The planner who confuses "development" and "increase in total quantities" runs the risk of finally provoking the reverse of development. This does not mean that an increase in total quantities is not necessary, but that the increase should be achieved with due regard to the human factor.

It is desirable, therefore, in planning to see that the action to be undertaken is carried out in such a way as to ensure that the psychological, cultural and spiritual concepts on which civilisation is based are not sacrificed to rapid and fragile growth.

(1) See our publication Dynamique Concrète du Développement, Editions Ouvrières et Economie et Humanisme, Paris 1961.

The economically and technically developed western countries were not subjected to change. Their process of evolution covered more than a century and permitted a gradual adaptation to new ways of production and new ways of life. Evolution did not, however, take place without creating certain psychological and social disturbances, especially as a result of the uprooting of populations, who became workers in urban areas with virtually no transition, and as a result of extreme differences in standards of living.

The sudden introduction of new techniques and new trading methods and the startling appearance of new means of communication renders much more dangerous the evolution of populations who find themselves confronted with the necessity of development in view of their increasing populations and their contacts with countries already developed.

3. Importance of systems of values

The over-simplified application of development plans based on the prevailing system of values in developed countries gives rise to disturbances both in individual behaviour and in social structures.

It is not merely a question of the states of injury caused by industrialisation and urbanisation, which have been examined in detail in Section G of this conference. It is perhaps more a question of the difficulties resulting from being successively associated with two cultures whose values differ greatly. The personal conflict and the social conflict of this "ambiguous adventure" have been carefully analysed by Sheik Hamidou Kane, Commissioner-General for the Plan in Senegal.

Such conflicts are inevitable and the leaders of a country who refused to face them would condemn their people to regression. It is not, therefore, a case of retreating from an affront, but of reducing the loss of values which may be involved and making the most of the values to be gained.

In drawing up a development plan it is essential to take into account the systems of values with which one has to deal, how they persist and how deeply they are rooted, and how authentic and effective they may be in their particular field of action.

From this point of view present planning methods are far from up-to-date. Doubtless psychological and sociological factors are beginning to be considered, and this represents considerable progress, but in general psycho-sociological study is either tacked on to the study of the economic aspect or is only undertaken as far as economic results make it desirable.

By simplifying the problem, it is possible to reduce to four the systems of values to be found in existence or in competition with each other in a country seeking development: the native system, the western-plus-capitalist system, the western-plus-socialist system and the communist system.

Economically the native system involves traditional techniques, respect for existing methods of land ownership, maximum security in order to guarantee a minimum means of subsistence by direct production or limited trading and finally a distrust for innovation.

A certain equilibrium has been obtained which, as regards the biological requirements of subsistence, takes account of the cultivation and conservation of the soil, the complementary nature of crops and hunting, fishing and gathering possibilities.

Affective, intellectual, aesthetic, ethical and spiritual values[2] are, in most native civilisations, closely related to economic values. The overall equilibrium characterising a civilisation results precisely from a certain coherence in such relationships, even if the total system of values, as is always the case, includes a certain proportion of non-values which have been integrated into it.

Any change in the economic régime has repercussions on the total system of values which make up a civilisation. The same applies to technical innovations when they are particularly drastic. The process is accelerated by literacy and education, which build up a mental world totally different from that previously known.

The speed of the impact produces a break quite different from those which marked 19th century evolution in the countries where capitalism and industrialisation were created. The social and political disturbances which occurred in Europe as a result of this relatively slow evolution are well known.

Planning which does not take account of economic factors gives rise to far more serious disturbances.

Economic planning is, however, a sine qua non condition of development and is both desirable and necessary.

Economic development and planning should not be rejected. On the contrary their success should be ensured by subordinating them and attuning them to the human element. The concept of "human values" must always be kept in mind by the members of the external, indigenous or mixed team responsible for drawing up the plan.

4. Integration of systems of values

Normally a good plan is prepared by a joint team if, as most frequently happens, the country has not yet a sufficient number of experts available with the necessary knowledge of the science of development. Even if research leadership is entrusted to outside experts, the decision is always left to an indigenous authority - a Planning Ministry may have been set up, or a Planning Commissariat guided by the head of the government or the head of state. It is always essential that the team in charge of development or responsible for drawing up the plan should include experts of the country concerned in all sectors where they exist.

The preparation of the plan then becomes a joint effort in which initial and subsequent major decisions are always taken by the local government in the light of preliminary investigations and assembled data, without which the plan would be no more than a fantasy.

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(2) The categories given here are those used by Louis Lavelle in his Treaty of Values. In our opinion they can be applied to any civilisation.

The necessary coordination between outside experts, local experts and national authorities can only be brought about by continued cooperation. The outside experts will be fully aware that the plan is not a scheme to be grafte on to the previous economy, but, if a prospective or perspective plan, a long-term vision of a coherent evolution; if a medium term plan, the programming of sector or regional action coordinated in the light of this vision; and if an annual plan, an adjustment required as a result of limitations or excesses in implementing larger plans.

Outside experts should take care not to employ scales of values from their own civilisation, and not to accelerate the propensity to imitate the West which is often excessive in the upper and middle classes.

Indigenous experts and technicians should be trained to have a critical approach to imported non-values and to recognise authentic local values, which should be protected and intensified, and traditional non-values, which should gradually be eliminated.

One of the great dangers to be avoided in a country desirous of development is to have large discrepancies between the living standards of various classes. If the upper and middle classes attain a very high and constantly increasing standard of living while the urban proletariat increases and rural populations are in a state of stagnation or decay, the birth and establishment of a real democracy are retarded and the seeds of future social revolt are sown.

This is all the more important in view of the fact that the very desirable extension of education will sharpen the critical sense of the masses of the people and also their reactions and aggressiveness.

In other words development must be integral in the sense that all classes of the population must benefit from it, in particular those least favoured; the upper classes must be satisfied with what is "functionally" necessary to them instead of giving way to ostentation. Action must be coordinated so that the development of agriculture, industry and services is linked, as must be rural and urban development and economic and social development.

It can also be said that development must be administered in such a way as to produce a social order in which each finds opportunities "to have enough" and "to be worth more". Understood in this way development is something quite different from raising the total figures of a production which is ill distribut it is the dynamic coordination of old and new values, of indigenous and imported values.

This seems to be one of the main aims of the political leaders who wish to create what they call an "African socialism", which would be an original socialism adapted to development requirements by relying on the effort of the masses, who would be consciously associated with implementing the general plan and with preparing local plans.

It would, ultimately be a question of establishing as completely humane an economy as possible under a system of effective solidarity.

This would obviously necessitate gradual education at all levels of economic, social, political and administrative responsibility, from summit to base and from base to summit, based on both truly African and universal values, on making the regional and national élite aware of their responsibilities, on organising courses to familiarise development problems and on supplying objective information on the situation, requirements and possibilities of the country.

5. Establishment of new relationships

Although the essential aim of development is the rectification and intensification of human values, i.e. the proper utilisation of the human being, this demands a certain climate in human relations. The dynamic coordination of values is also the coordination of relationships. This coordination is brought about in part by an education anxious not only to foster the idea that freedom should be used for the benefit of others and to encourage a friendly attitude to others and a willingness to assist them but also to create an awareness of duties towards the human groups to which one belongs.

Coordination was more or less assured in earlier civilisations by traditional institutions which laid down individual rights and responsibilities and defined the relations between age groups and classes. When initiating development it is inevitable that previous relationships should be disturbed, especially in a country which has only recently become independent.

It is impossible and it would indeed be a serious mistake, to attempt the immediate transformation of traditional structures and relationships. It must be recognised however, that these must gradually be modified in order to remove certain obstacles to development and encourage general acceptance of the idea of development.

A development plan always involves great changes in the organisation of power and administration and in the conditions under which new types of leaders may appear. Intensification of commercial relations and new forms of credit or producers' organisations also bring about changes in social relations.

New techniques of soil cultivation raise questions of land tenure, whilst the establishment of industrial undertakings and greater travelling facilities extends and modifies the network of relationships.

An exclusively economic plan which took no account of new forms of community life and consequent changes of outlook, of new services being established or of legislation defining rights, civic obligations and association structures, would certainly bring about a state of anarchy as the old order gradually disappeared.

Development can only succeed and endure under a legal system laying down limitations on freedom whilst allowing it to be exercised for the common good at village, regional and national level. In practice, tribal, racial and religious differences often hamper the application of this principle and have to be taken into consideration in order to maintain and consolidate national unity, which is in constant danger of collapse.

The problem of individual or group relationships is also complicated by relations between groups living within given frontiers, often artificial and fragile. The emerging nations are not yet quite nations and the implementation

of a serious development plan strengthening solidarities is the surest way of achieving this status. In order for them to do so, each group must feel that it is part of a dynamic whole in which it has its own place and its opportunities to benefit from the total development operation.

The regional populations will gradually become aware that, as a result of improvements affecting them, their own resources can be used to better advantage in a trading network which will ensure their basic needs and the gradual attainment of a higher standard of living.

It is thus clear that the first medium-term plan can only be a basis for the most urgent action pending greater certainty as to what can finally be accomplished according to the degree of national or foreign aid forthcoming. Planning always involves a hazardous forecast, the adaptation or success of which depends very much on the character of the planning body and the constructive vigour of the political authority.

In any event, where development does not both preserve and create values, including relationship values which establish the desired responsibility, effective cooperation and internal peace and the apparently spectacular results of uncoordinated projects which are not synchronised with human development will only be the prelude to ultimate failure.

6. Transition to the international level

The problem of values and relationships in development planning and programming should not be considered only at the national level. From now on no country can live out its future in isolation. There are neighbours who may be jealous or aggressive or have a different concept of development. Countries thus build themselves into fortresses with closed gates or group themselves according to temporary ideological affinities, ignoring their common civilisation and economic interdependence.

Instead of pooling and coordinating regional values, countries take on the heavy burden of individual watertight plans. One value which it is most important to emphasise is that of "solidarity" within a natural economic area, where a rational use of infrastructures would avoid duplication of costly work, whether this involved power, communications, research centres or universities.

Solidarity must, however, be extended further. No country, no regional zone, can regard itself as being entirely independent. The economically, technically or culturally less developed world needs the more developed world. The more developed countries need the raw materials and energy of the less developed countries. Political and strategical factors, either for capitalist gain or ideological expansion, impose relationships on the world which are quite abnormal in this era of our history.

Developed and less developed countries should find the courage to re-examine together not only how far it is possible to reach agreement on the common values which should be encouraged, the individual values which should be respected and the civilisation of solidarity which should be established, but also the radical changes to be envisaged in supranational and international relations in order that the overall development problem may become soluble.

To continue on the present mistaken lines with piecemeal and incomplete work by the planners will be to a large extent useless.

Apart from development techniques another problem arises today, that of working out a development ethic on which the main lines of an international code of development could be based. Given human solidarity, the right of all peoples to development and to cooperation for development should be recognised and respected in order that the total effort may be coordinated, thus avoiding the present confusion of demand and response. In this way aid would lose its humiliating and chaotic character. The duty to give aid would be matched by a duty to make good use of it. Disparate planning methods could then be sufficiently standardised so that waste due to improvisation or considerations of prestige was eliminated. International regulations governing trade and assistance could enable the less favoured peoples to keep the semblance and also the reality of their independence. They would no longer be beggars holding out their hands or would-be blackmailers playing on the dissensions of the Great Powers or the interested competition of those offering assistance. It is time to think of a new international order, sweeping away old methods of exploitation and new methods of competition.

Thus the general economic organisation of development could replace the inevitable phase of clumsy trial and error, which should now be ended. Development strategy should be laid down after calm consideration of varied requirements and dispersed resources. A coherent development of the world could become the prime objective of humanity and the disinterested coordination of plans with a view to achieving maximum use of both manpower and structures the noblest task that could be undertaken.

But an essential preliminary step is required. As regards existing systems of values and relationships, it is necessary to have the courage to undertake a critical examination of the concept of man "being more" rather than "having more", an idea to which some people still wish development to be restricted.

Rightly directed, development must become both more scientific and more humanistic. Each development mission or body has its contribution to make by improving its methods and by making its target more universal over the longest possible period of time.

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By
LOUIS-JOSEPH LEBRET,
DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ECONOMY AND HUMANISM.

SUMMARY

The evolution of the concept of development places increasing emphasis on the necessity of taking account of non-economic factors in development planning, i.e. biological, psychological, sociological, political and even ethical and spiritual.

The methods by which plans and programmes are prepared must therefore be improved.

The introduction of human factors is still inadequate, man still being regarded primarily as an element of production and not as a person to be utilised for his own sake. Genuine development means passing from a less to a more humane phase for all sections of the population. This aspect of development is essential.

Development depends on a system of values, which must always be studied when drawing up an inventory of requirements and resources. Development always involves the confrontation of several systems of values. Failure to take account of the indigenous system of values limits the chances of success when implementing the development plan.

Planning, instead of creating conflict between different values, should lead to integration. When a development mission has been called in from outside, it is important that indigenous experts and technicians should be invited to work with it. Otherwise the development plan, if grafted on to the previous civilisation, will cause sociological and political disturbances which the country will find it difficult to control.

Foreign experts must take great care not to apply scales of values of their own civilisation. Governments must encourage original education which will meet the country's real needs and be based on previously established authentic values.

Development, by modifying economic structures and traditional institutions, brings about a change in relations between persons and groups. Care must be taken to see that this change does not lead to excessive social tensions and psycho-sociological disturbances.

Provision should therefore be made for transitional phases and the consequences of innovations considered before introducing reforms. The population only becomes aware gradually of the advantages of new ways of solidarity.

The problem of values and relationships does not arise only at national level. National efforts for development would often fail without regional coordination of national plans and without new forms of international co-operation. With this in mind it is necessary to train qualified coordination teams now and to prepare an international development ethic on which an international development code could eventually be based.

It thus appears that the scientific and moral demands of development can be expected to increase in the coming years and that organisation, planning and programming methods will have to be adapted accordingly.

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